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STATEMENT OF JACQUELINE SPEIER

LEGAL COUNSEL TO THE LATE CONGRESSMAN LEO J. RYAN

BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

OF

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

OF STATE DEPARTMENT IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION OF LEO J. RYAN AND THE JONESTOWN TRAGEDY

February 20, 1980

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
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STATEMENT OF JACQUELINE SPEIER BEFORE THE
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE OF
THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

February 20, 1980

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

A little more than a year ago, I sat in the Chairman of this Committee's office and together we grieved because we had lost a friend and a colleague in the man of the late Congressman Leo J. Ryan. During our meeting together, Chairman Fascell promised me that he would do whatever was necessary to get the answers to the questions that had gone unanswered. I urged him to hold public hearings on the tragedy. He said he would call hearings if they were warranted. I am grateful to him for calling this hearing today. As a Congressional Assistant for five years, I sat in this room many times and marvelled at the Chairman's depth of perception and extensive knowledge regarding foreign policy. I thank him, the members of this committee, and the staff for the opportunity to speak before you today.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Congressman Bill Royer who has shown a responsiveness to his constituents in his efforts to arrange these hearings.

Since the tragic events of November 18, 1978, forums all across the country, and in fact around the world have challenged spokespersons to speculate as to why Jonestown happened. The Washington community has not been excluded from this discussion. Rather, both the Congress and the Executive Branch conducted investigations into the Jonestown tragedy. I have read the documents prepared by the State Department and the House Foreign Affairs Committee and cooperated fully with both inquiries. Without question, the efforts of these groups were genuine. Both investigative teams took their mandate seriously and conducted the inquiries in a highly professional manner. The recommendations offered were adequate, but I respectfully submit that they address the symptoms and not the ailment.

The focus of this hearing is to monitor and evaluate the extent to which the State Department has effectuated the recommendations enumerated

in the Foreign Affairs Committee Report and the State Department report. I am not prepared, nor am I qualified, to respond to that line of questioning. Certainly State Department officials are the only persons who can address that question. What's more, I find such questioning somewhat premature.

We still have not received plausible explanations regarding the performance of State before, during and after the tragedy. A U.S. Congressman, and over 900 people lost their lives in Guyana and the conclusions reached indicate that the:

> U.S. Embassy in Guyana did not demonstrate adequate initiative, sensitive reaction and appreciation of progressively mounting indications of highly irregular and illegal activities in Jonestown. (House Foreign Affairs Committee Report, page 29.)
>
> There was a laxness in State Department procedures for distributing certain important documents relative to People's Temple thereby inhibiting the opportunity for taking appropriate action. (House Foreign Affairs Committee Report, page 31.)

We lost a U.S. Congressman and 900 Americans and all we say is that our Embassy did not "demonstrate initiative or sensitivity" and the State Department was "lax". Such an evaluation of State Department's performance is incomplete and oversimplified. And yet, with these inconclusive results, recommendations have been made which State Department has taken steps to implement. In my mind it is a classic case of the cart before the horse.

In my estimation State Department failed in three respects regarding the Codel trip. The Department failed in its duty to warn, its duty to investigate, and its duty to inform.

The ramifications of these hearings far exceed whether or not we will ultimately find out why the Jonestown tragedy occurred. The issue here cuts to the quick of what kind of relationship exists between the State Department and the Congress.

Is full disclosure by State Department to the Congress presumed or even anticipated? (Duty to warn.)

Is our Embassy's allegiance in a foreign country first to the foreign government or to the Congress and the American people? (Duty to investigate.)

Is the relationship between Congress and the State Department cooperative or adversative? (Duty to inform)

DUTY TO WARN

In the letter from Matthew Nimetz to Chairman Rodino of the Judiciary Committee on November 21, 1979, Nimetz outlines the steps which have been implemented in the aftermath of the Guyana tragedy and the recommendations of the various reports. I quote:

> We have made it a standard practice to request a threat assessment from our posts describing the current security situation in a country to be visited.... The contents (of the threat assessments) are shared with the members of the delegation before their departure.

Had this guideline been in effect when we made the trip to Guyana, I am certain the threat assessment would have been reported as "benign" by State Department. State never shared with the Congressional delegation any of the information and reports which they had in their files for over one year before our trip which pointed to a possible illegal export of up to 170 guns from California to Jonestown. (U.S. Customs Service, August 26, 1977. Received by State Department Bureau of Inter-American Affairs on September 6, 1977.) I must presume State Department did not consider such gun running to be "threatening". Further, we were not even given the opportunity to make our own threat assessment on a personal level because we were not privy to the vital information. A State Department spokesman in December 1978, one month after the tragedy, still maintained there was no potential violence in

State's view and was quoted as saying:

> We did not specifically advise Congressman Ryan with respect to potential violence.... There was no prior instance - known or alleged - of use of physical violence against a visitor. (Redwood City Tribune, Redwood City, California, December 16, 1978.)

At this time I would like to show a visual example of the violence that State Department did not expect - because there was no prior history. This bullet was removed from my arm two months ago. The FBI has subsequently run ballistics tests on it.

State Department did not anticipate violence although they were put on notice not just once (by the Customs Service report), but at least twice about the armed camp environment at Jonestown.

The second instance refers to an affidavit received in June 1978 by State Department from Deborah Layton Blakey in which she testifies the "settlement swarming with armed guards", "persons approximately fifty in number would arm themselves with rifles". The affidavit also described white night suicide trials, brutality and severe working and subsistence conditions. Not only were these charges made in a formal affidavit to State Department in June 1978, they were also communicated firsthand to the Consular Officer in Guyana. He suggested Blakey contact the Justice Department.

> Had the Consular Officer no responsibility to make an inquiry regarding the charges leveled?
>
> Had he no responsibility to inform the Justice Department himself?

DUTY TO INVESTIGATE

The Foreign Affairs Committee report makes the statement "The Embassy did not have an investigative or judicial function." I submit that the treaty we signed with the United Kingdom on June 6, 1951, and which continues

to be the controlling document regarding our relationship with the government of Guyana today specifically provides that our Consular Officers have investigating powers. In 3 UST 3439, Part V-Protection of Nationals, Article 15, it states:

(1) A consular officer shall be entitled within his district to:

(a) Interview, communicate with and advise any national of the sending state;

(b) Inquire into any incidents (emphasis added) which have occurred affecting the interests of any such national.

Proper interpretation of this section by our Embassy officials in Guyana could have provided them with persuasive authority to investigate the charges made by Deborah Layton Blakey and others about the conditions in Jonestown and the potential for violence.

At every junction within the State Department framework in Washington and in Guyana, officials failed to act. They failed to act not out of ignorance but with full knowledge of possible significant criminal activity by Jim Jones. The failure of State Department in performing its responsibilities is not the result of any lack of power to act. The treaty clearly provides for such action. I do not believe the unresponsiveness of State to make inquiries regarding the Blakey affidavit or the numerous letters from concerned relatives, is the result of a bureaucratic foul up of the documents never reaching the appropriate officials in State. We have the admission of the Consular Officer in charge at Georgetown, who accompanied Blakey to New York, that he was aware of her concerns and charges. The Blakey defection occurred in May, the Blakey affidavit was filed in June. The Codel departed in November. No action was ever taken by State Department or the Embassy to verify the charges made by Blakey. It was assumed, erroneously by both Congressman Ryan and myself that the affidavit had been reviewed and no evidence found to support the charges. We presumed, what a Congressional delegation relying on assistance from State would have presumed, that State

Department was doing its job. We still do not know today why the affidavit did not prompt a full investigation. I can only speculate that:

(1) The charges were already known to be true.

(2) The Jonestown "problem" did not merit priority consideration by State.

(3) An investigation would somehow jeopardize the U.S. economic or political relationship with Guyana.

Until we can determine what the motivation was for the "non-action", making recommendations in an attempt to avert another tragedy such as Jonestown is an exercise in futility.

DUTY TO INFORM

Whether or not a cooperative relationship exists between the State Department and Congress must be assessed more specifically.

Congressman Ryan and I met with Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Viron P. Vaky and other State Department officials in September 1978 to discuss the Congressman's interest in visiting Jonestown in November 1978. State Department was kept advised on an almost daily basis as the trip became more defined. During October and the first two weeks of November, the Guyana Desk Officer was consulted daily and informed by me regarding every new development of the trip including the possible media coverage. My relationship with State could only be described as cooperative and candid.

On the other hand, the Congressman's efforts as well as mine to obtain information and assistance were consistently thwarted or frustrated.

In the days that followed the tragedy, State Department complied with the Foreign Affairs Committee requests and handed over 900 documents regarding the People's Temple in Guyana - I repeat 900 documents. In our requests for

information from State we were never once told of the 900 documents the Department had on the Temple and furthermore we were never given access to those documents.

Had we had the opportunity to review the documents, even a limited number of them, we might have "located" the U.S. Customs Service report regarding the suspected 170 guns in Jonestown - A report State had "misplaced" prior to the Congressional trip.

Had we been afforded a cursory review, we would have realized that the Blakey affidavit of June 1978 was never acted upon.

The question still haunts me today. Why was critical, life and death information regarding the People's Temple hidden from the view of the Congressional delegation before the trip? Was State Department fearful that we would discover that it had been wantonly negligent in protecting American citizens abroad in Guyana?

If the relationship between the Congress and State Department is indeed cooperative and not adversative, I implore this committee to seek the answers to these unanswered questions.

The late Congressman Leo Ryan was eulogized by many of his colleagues after his death for his courage and tenacious spirit in seeking out the truth regardless of the obstacles or political ramifications. I trust that the members of the International Operations Subcommittee will continue in his spirit of leadership and representation of the American people by seeking the whole truth about the Jonestown tragedy.

It is my firm belief that the State Department must share heavily in the responsibility for the deaths of Leo Ryan and the 900 Americans in Guyana. I cannot be confident in our government's protection of Americans abroad or in our State Department until the whole truth about the Jonestown tragedy is exposed. Our lives depend on it.

Temple.

TO WHOMEVER FINDS THIS NOTE

Collect all the tapes, all the writing, all the history. The story of this movement, this action, must be examined over and over. It must be understood in all of its incredible dimensions. Words fail. We have pledged our lives to this great cause. We are proud to have something to die for. We do not fear death. We hope that the world will someday realize the ideals of brotherhood, peace and equality that Jim and Jim and Jim died for. We are all ready to die for this cause. But I know there is no way that we can control the interpretation. But I know the time will come when all this will be seen. The world is not ready to let us live.

am sorry there is no eloquence
to make these final words.
Be resolved, but grieved that
I cannot make clear the truth
that witness clear.

This is the last day of our lives.
If the world find a way to
new birth of social justice. If
we in any way that it our
lives and the life of Jim Jones
have helped that path place,
we will have not lived in vain.

Jim Jones did not order
one to attack or kill anyone.
was done by individuals who
too much of seeing people
to destroy. This movement,
as ~~[illegible]~~
its actions have left us no alter-
native, and rather than see this
fully, and rather than see this
cause demeaned, we have
chosen to give our lives
proof of their choice.

Please try to understand. Look at us.
Look at all in perspective. Look at
Jonestown, see what we have tried to
be — this was a monument to life
to the marvel of the human spirit
given by Capetalism, by a system
of oppression & injustice. Look at all
that was built by a intelligenced
people. We did not realize that by
ending — we wanted to live, to
share, to bring light to a world
that is ready for a little bit of love.
To those left behind of our friends,
ones, many of whom will not understand,
who never knew this spirit, please not
we are grateful for this opportunity. Your
dear witness — a fitting witness is — history
has chosen our destiny in spite of our own
desire to forge our own. We were
at a crossroad perhaps with history. But
we are calm in the knowledge of our

Lapses of accident, ancient bones, miscalculation, and that has our error, beyond our intent.

I hope that Semone broke his whole story. It is not finished. It is more like merge with millions of others, we are subsumed in the archetype. Perps hugging each other comically we are humping — as we do not want to be captured. We want to hear voices at once.

Red not over it's way. Cell was going well as Ryan chopped four day low. Then a man tried to attack him, unsuccessfully, at some time, several set. Ohio jungle knowing to provoke (Ryan, hide, and others who slept with them. They died, until several killed. When we land this we had no choice. We would be Judas, we

[illegible] Temple, do not [illegible] We have chosen. [illegible]

Hugging & kissing I leave in silence I go in a long line

Touches and whispered words in the silent cave caves. Declaration, prophecy. In quiet people. Only heart rapid, then voice, music in tension, a voice of affirmation civil liberty, a different [illegible]

[illegible]
declaration of [illegible]
Victory of the human
spelon

A long [illegible] next to me. I sticking a clip handed. The hole yanked [illegible] telephone wire. Let all the stars of this Perps Temple be. Vast. Let all the [illegible] Perps. This sight... a terrible misery [illegible] How [illegible] we did not, could not, that [illegible] Jim Jones was crushed by a crowd that [illegible] we do not [illegible] — [illegible]

I am ready to die now. Darkness
settles over this town
on the last day on earth.

Jonestown, Day Before Mass Suicide, Was Outwardly Peaceful

'I'm Defeated. I Might as Well Die,' Cult Leader Told Newsmen

By Charles A. Krause

GEORGETOWN, Guyana, Nov. 2 (WP) — When I first reached Jonestown, with Rep. Leo Ryan's party, we were all struck by the neat wooden structures so far from civilization, and by the mix of blacks and whites, young and old, — seemingly normal people who, we were told, had willingly chosen to live so far from home.

Marceline Jones, James Jones's wife, met us as we left the Jonestown dump truck that had brought us from the Port Kaituma airstrip, where our plane had landed several hours before and where Rep. Ryan would be killed along with four. Others the next afternoon.

Marcie, as everyone called her, invited us to the pavilion where Mr. Jones awaited us and where he would lead his followers in a mass suicide less than 24 hours later. Everything was so alive and so peaceful that Friday night, at least on the surface, that it was impossible to know that this carefully cultivated little world would soon be destroyed by a man gone mad.

Marcie told us that supper — hot pork sandwiches and greens, fruit tarts and coffee — was ready.

We would be told proudly by our hosts that everything we ate had been raised in Jonestown, this quasi-religious, socialist agricultural commune carved out of Guyana's remote rain forest.

Greeted by Residents

As we walked to the pavilion, residents of the commune greeted us individually and accompanied us. They engaged us in conversation, asking about our trip, telling us how glad they were that we would have a chance to see that Jonestown was not the concentration camp that its detractors had claimed.

Most of the commune residents those who were not part of the welcoming party, were eating dinner in a nearby dining area, washing clothes in the open-air communal laundry or baking bread.

Children gathered around swings and benches near the pavilion and Jonestown appeared to be just what its brochures said it was; a place where people of all races and ages could live in peace without the violence and hate they had known in the ghetto and without the materialistic anxieties of their native United States.

Jonestown was an experiment in socialism, we were told, where money, power and elitism had been eliminated. The hundreds of seniors, as the aged were called, got the best medical attention and their lives had new meaning.

For the young blacks among the more than 500 residents, Jonestown offered an escape from the drugs and crime in which we were told many of them had been involved before coming to Guyana. And for the middle class, college-educated whites — who seemed to hold the top leadership positions — Jonestown seemed to be a logical extension of the civil rights and antiwar battles they had fought in the past decade. It was the socialist society that they wanted for their native country, but that they realized was impossible at least for now.

Although we had been told that once we got to Jonestown, we would be free to wander and talk to anyone we wished, we began to feel we were being guided.

First to the pavilion, then to sit down with one of "friends," then to meet the leader himself, who sat at the head of our table complaining about a 103 degree fever he said he had suffered from that day. We then went to eat dinner and to watch an elaborate and highly professional two hours of entertainment provided by the Jonestown band and various amateur singers in the commune.

Rep. Ryan sat to the side of the pavilion interviewing persons he had requested to see. Concerned relatives who came with us on the plane, were meeting with their sisters, sons, nieces or parents. Some of the conversations were strained. Others animated. Nobody yet had told anyone that he or she wanted to leave Jonestown.

After dinner and during the show, I walked over to Rep. Ryan to ask him if he had learned anything. He said no, not very much yet, but pointed to a tall, middle-aged, white man with a crewcut who, along with all of the more than 700 Jonestown residents in the pavilion that night, moved to the soul music played so loudly that it was difficult to hear, to talk, to ask questions — or to have them answered.

Rep. Ryan said there was something very unnatural about the middle-aged and older people, black and white, standing, clapping and jiving to music that may have appealed to the young, but not to the old.

First Sign

It was an observation I would not forget. It was the first real sign that maybe these people had been either programmed or somehow forced to act in a way that conformed to an image Jones wanted to project.

I also would not forget the man whom the congressmawn pointed out. His name, I later learned, was Tom Kice, Sr., and he would be shooting at me and the others at the airstrip the next afternoon.

As I walked around the pavilion, I noticed that most people scattered as soon as I came near. I also noted that someone would always come along and be friendly. "Hi, how are you doing? Don't you want to listen to the music?"

"Sure," I said, "but I can hear it from here. I'm curious to see your facilities."

The usual response was that there would be a tour the next day, that people probably were asleep in the cabins. Or some other reason was given why I really should not wander around on my own.

I decided to return to the table where Mr. Jones was talking to some of the other reporters who had come along. Mark Lane and Charles Garry, Jonestown's two lawyers, were there, as were several young people who I would later learn were Mr. Jones's principal lieutenants.

"People here are happy for the first time in their lives," Mr. Jones was saying. "When can this dialogue [between Jonestown and its detractors] stop so we can all live in peace? I don't want to tear these people up."

Leave Us Alone

"We can do a good job for Guyana and for the United States if they would just leave us alone," he said.

He was asked if his People's

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 3)

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

At Mr. Zand had been taken over ... what one of them described as ... the Agee ring" — a group of writ... and political activists who were ... candly with Philip Agee, the critic ... the CIA, when he lived in Brit... ain. Asked to name a member of ... hat "ring," a source cited Duncan ... ampbell, a young leftist journalist ... ho was convicted last week in a ...

tempted murder in the deaths of ... California Rep. Leo Ryan and four ... other Americans.

It was expected that six others ... accused in the murders would be ... charged later.

Mr. Layton, 32, who appeared in ... court barefoot, sullen and with ... glazed eyes, was arraigned on ... charges of murdering Rep. Ryan, ... NBC newsman Don Harris, NBC ...

... was charged with the at... tempted murder of three persons at ... the Port Kaituma airstrip. They ... were identified as Dale Parks, ... Monica Bagey, and Verne Godsey.

Mr. Layton was ordered held in ... prison until Jan. 15, when a hearing ... will be held in Matthew's Ridge ... court, a small settlement 10 miles ... from the Jonestown commune ... where the mass suicide of more ...

30 Survivors Found

Thirty survivors of the mass suicide ritual at the People's Temple were located near the site and were being returned to Georgetown today, the Guyanese Information Ministry said.

... Helicopters equipped with ... loudspeakers flew over the forests ... to tell the cult members that it was ... safe to come out, but no ground ... search was begun.

Warning of the threat of a cholera outbreak, the government declared the open air commune at Jonestown, 150 miles northwest of Georgetown, a danger area and ... cordoned it off.

... by helicopter as hopes dwindled for ... 500 to 600 cult members still missing in the jungle.

... is a new exodus from the country as ... most Nicaraguans resign themselves to the inevitability of another military offensive by the guerrillas. The wealthy are flying to the United States in droves, while many poor are heading overland to Honduras or Costa Rica.

At least 30,000 Nicaraguans have

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

... refugees, who told stories of Ugandan soldiers spraying village ... pounds with machine-gun fire, ... judging from the scope of the ... struction to properly, it is appar... that the marauding invaders ki... civilians with abandon, ...

... Tanzania asserts that 40,000 re... dents escaped the Ugandans ... fleeing across the Kagera, leav... behind between 3,000 and 10,... unaccounted for and feared d... Among them, according to rep... carried by Tanzania's governme... owned Daily News, were 485 ... zanians transported to a prisb...

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Algiers Confirms Grave Condition Of Boumediienne

PARIS, Nov. 22 (UPI) — Alge... an President Houari Boumedie... is gravely ill, the Algiers radio c... firmed today. Paris press repo... said that he is in a coma fr... bladder cancer and kidney failu...

The reports said the Alge... Revolutionary Council was ho... marathon sessions. The streets ... Algiers and other cities were ca...

A team of Algerian, Russ... British, French and U.S. phys... most of them urologists and kid... specialists, attended the presi... at Mustapha hospital in Alg... One report said he had been ... tached to an artificial kid... machine.

President Boumediienne, 51, ... turned Nov. 14 from six weeks ... treatment in Moscow. Last we... send he fell into a coma and ... rushed to the hospital.

"A Very Frightened Man"

Son Says Cult Chief Paranoid, Fanatical

By Jon Nordheimer

GEORGETOWN, Guyana, Nov. 22 (NYT) — James Jones, the cult leader who died along with 408 of his U.S. followers in a mass suicide rite in the Guyanese jungle, was described by his surviving son yesterday as a fanatic in ill health who had become paranoiac in recent years.

"I can almost say I hate this man because he has destroyed everything I've worked for," said Stephan Jones, 19, who has spent his entire life within the cult called People's Temple.

The young man's mother and half-brothers all died in the ritual, which took place after several cult members had killed Rep. Leo Ryan and four Americans. The son said he escaped being caught up in the suicide because he had traveled to Georgetown with the commune's basketball team for games in the Guyanese capital.

At a news conference he said the commune members had been drilled by his father in drinking what he said was a deadly poison but proved harmless after they had swallowed it.

"I never took them seriously," the son said about these practice sessions, adding that he could not bring himself to believe that nearly half of the members had voluntarily ended their lives.

"There was no way it could be

U.S. Police Fear More Violence Among Cultists

BERKELEY, Calif., Nov. 22 (WP) — Although the People's Temple cult seems to have been obliterated in the deaths of more than 400 of its members in Guyana last weekend, former temple members and some Bay area law enforcement agencies believe that more violence is possible.

Only hours after the mass suicide of the sect's members in Jonestown, Guyana, on Saturday, an anonymous caller threatened to kill Will Holsinger, one of Rep. Leo Ryan's staff members who has participated in the investigation of the cult. FBI agents, investigating the possibility of a U.S.-based conspiracy behind Rep. Ryan's murder, have been ordered to investigate the threat against Mr. Holsinger.

Berkeley police have been guarding former members of the sect who run a halfway house for ex-cultists, the Human Freedom Center.

In addition, San Francisco police have been assigned to protect former cult members and their families after reports of a "hit list" maintained by the sect's leader, James Jones. According to former members of the church, those on the list were to be killed in the event that something happened to Mr. Jones or the People's Temple

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suicide," he said. "They had to be forced." Yet, when he struggled to explain the mass suicide, he speculated that it might have been an act of blind faith.

"I would never say there was any kind of brainwashing," he said. He agreed that the commune members might have swallowed the poisonous drink without being convinced that it was genuine.

In the end he came back to the explanation deemed most reasonable here — that his father had convinced his followers that the slaying of the visitors at Port Kaituma airstrip meant the commune would be destroyed.

The younger Jones indicated that there had been growing dissension with his father's leadership, which he characterized as being mostly "bravado and show," attributable to failing health and dependence on drugs. James Jones said he had a heart condition and various ailments, according to the son, and had become dependent on drugs prescribed by a commune physician.

"He claimed he was afraid of nothing, which I know was bull," the son said. "My father was a very frightened man. He claimed he didn't have an ego, and the opposite was true. He had one of the biggest egos I ever saw in my life."

The commune became a reflection of his father's frightened visions, the son said. On the one hand, he said, "so many beautiful things" were being produced by hard work. On the other, his father and his inner circle overreacted to wild fantasies of oppressive enemies on the outside.

The son said some ugly things had happened at Jonestown. It was possible, he said, that children were disciplined by tying a rope around their bodies and throwing them into a deep well. He also thought possible that unruly teen-agers or runaways had been placed in "intensive care" and treated with drugs. But he said he knew nothing of locking children in a packing crate for long periods to discipline them or of rumors that the commune had created an assassination squad among the younger men.

Mr. Jones is being detained with 45 commune members at the cult's Georgetown headquarters, where four others — two young women and two children — had their throats slit on Saturday night.

Another cult member, Paula Adams, 29, of Lucaya, Calif., said she had fallen out of favor last winter after four years in the commune and had been ordered transferred to the Georgetown office. "I had questioned too many things," she said, "I was not trusted."

When she moved to Georgetown she was not permitted to take her 2-year-old child with her. "Loved ones were always left in the interior when a cult member was sent to Georgetown," she said, because Mr. Jones was thus assured that those absent would return.

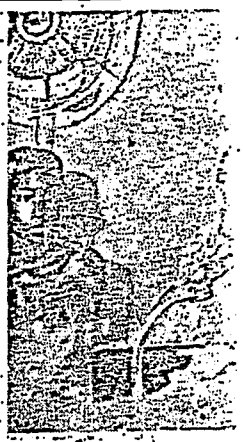
"Were the children hostages?" she was asked.

"Yes," she said.

"And where is your baby now?" a reporter asked.

Her voice failed her. "I don't know," she said at last. "I don't know."

Alleged Leader



Stephan Jones, second fro Georgetown, Guyana, that h members of the People's Te

Commune

(Continued from Page 1)

Temple was a religious moveme and he looked to Mr. Lane and M Garry for a moment before answe ing.

"Yes, very much," he said. B then he said he was a Marxist, to "in the sense that I believe in livi together, sharing work, goods an services."

I was sitting right next to M Jones and I remembered somethir Grace Stoen, a former People Temple member by whom M Jones claimed to have fathered son, had told me. She said M Jones, for all his insistence that h was a caring, unselfish man, was i fact incredibly vain and power hu gry.

"Just look at his sideburns," sh said. "He fills them with eye liner. I was curious. It was true.

Suddenly, as I was staring at M Jones's sideburns, his demeano changed. I didn't hear the questio he had just been asked, but th answer, I thought, was revealing "Threat, threat, threat of extinc tion," he raged. "I wish I wasn' born, at times. I understand hate love and hate. They are very close."

"They can have me," he said. "Ir many ways I feel like I'm dying I've never felt this way before."

Someone asked Mr. Jones about the beatings that reportedly took place at Jonestown, about the black box that residents were said to be placed in for days at a time when they did something Mr. Jones did not like, about the endless sermons he preached that kept his people, even the aged, up until 2 or 3 in the morning even though they had to rise at 6 a.m. to begin work.

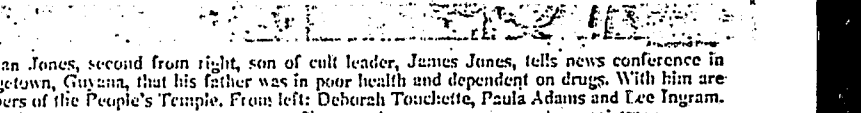
Another Rage

This prompted another rage and I almost felt sorry for the man. He was obviously sick and some of what he said seemed incoherent.

"I do not believe in violence," he said. "Violence corrupts. And then they say I want power. What kind of power do I have walking down the path talking to little old seniors?"

"I hate power," he continued, his rage growing. "I hate money. The only thing I wish now that I was never born. All I want is peace. I'm not worried about my image. If we could just stop it, stop this fighting. But if we don't, I don't know what's going to happen to 1,200 lives here."

The music had ended. The interviews had ended. Except for Rep. Ryan, his aides, Mr. Lane, Mr. Garry and a representative of the



Stephan Jones, second from right, son of cult leader, James Jones, tells news conference in Georgetown, Guyana, that his father was in poor health and dependent on drugs. With him are members of the People's Temple. From left: Deborah Touchette, Paula Adams and Lee Ingram.

Commune Was Outwardly Calm

(Continued from Page 1)

Temple was a religious movement and he looked to Mr. Lane and Mr. Garry for a moment before answering.

"Yes, very much," he said. But then he said he was a Marxist, too, "in the sense that I believe in living together, sharing work, goods and services."

I was sitting right next to Mr. Jones and I remembered something Grace Stoen, a former People's Temple member by whom Mr. Jones claimed to have fathered a son, had told me. She said Mr. Jones, for all his insistence that he was a caring, unselfish man, was in fact incredibly vain and power hungry.

"Just look at his sideburns," she said. "He fills them with eye liner." I was curious. It was true.

Suddenly, as I was staring at Mr. Jones's sideburns, his demeanor changed. I didn't hear the question he had just been asked, but the answer, I thought, was revealing: "Threat, threat, threat of extinction," he raged. "I wish I wasn't born, at times. I understand hate, love and hate. They are very close."

"They can have me," he said. "In many ways I feel like I'm dying. I've never felt this way before."

Someone asked Mr. Jones about the beatings that reportedly took place at Jonestown, about the black box that residents were said to be placed in for days at a time when they did something Mr. Jones did not like, about the endless sermons he preached that kept his people, even the aged, up until 2 or 3 in the morning even though they had to rise at 6 a.m. to begin work.

Another Rage

This prompted another rage and I almost felt sorry for the man. He was obviously sick and some of what he said seemed incoherent:

"I do not believe in violence," he said. "Violence corrupts. And then they say I want power. What kind of power do I have walking down the path talking to little old seniors?"

"I hate power," he continued, his rage growing. "I hate money. The only thing I wish now that I was never born. All I want is peace. I'm not worried about my image. If we could just stop it, stop this fighting. But if, we don't, I don't know what's going to happen to 1,200 lives here."

The music had ended. The interview had ended. Except for Rep. Ryan, his aides, Mr. Lane, Mr. Garry and a representative of the Guyanese government, the rest of us were soon on our way back to Port Kaituma, where Mr. Jones had arranged for us to sleep on the floor of a discotheque.

It was the last place Don Harris and Robert Brown of NBC, and Gregory Robinson, a photographer for the San Francisco Examiner, would sleep. They would die the next afternoon.

That night, we were sitting around having a drink when a local policeman came to the discotheque. He sought us out and told us some things, one of which was particularly interesting. He said he knew for sure that there was at least one gun in Jonesville, an automatic rifle, that had been registered with the Guyanese government.

'Bold-Faced Lie'

Don Harris asked Mr. Jones about the gun in an interview that he taped when we returned to Jonestown the next morning.

"A bold-faced lie!" Mr. Jones thundered. "It seems like we are defeated by lies."

Mr. Jones said he believed there was a conspiracy against him and against the People's Temple, a conspiracy that he blamed for a number of lawsuits that he said prevented him from returning to the United States.

"I wish somebody had shot me dead," he said again. "Now, we're substituting media smear for assassinations."

Suddenly, the word came that several families had decided to leave with Rep. Ryan. People were gathering. Tension, for the first time, was so apparent that it could be felt.

Circumstances were pressing in. Facts were beginning to overcome Mr. Jones's denials as fast as he could make them. Don Harris was throwing questions at Mr. Jones, hard questions that events were making even harder to answer.

"The more that leave, the less responsibility we have," Mr. Jones was saying after denying that any one wanted to leave the idyllic life Jonestown offered. "Who in the hell wants people?"

Mr. Harris returned to the question of guns at Jonestown.

'I'm Defeated'

"This is rubbish. I'm defeated," Mr. Jones said, clearly near the breaking point. "I might as well die. The guns have never been used to intimidate people. Anyone is free to come and go."

"The only thing I feel is that every time they go, they lie. What I thought was keeping them here was the fear of the ghetto, alienation, the fear of industrialized society. I must have failed somehow."

"I want to hug them before they leave," he said as events were quickly moving beyond his control. More people wanted to go. "I will let them. But they will try to destroy us. They'll try. They always lie when they leave."

People were crying. Families were divided with some members wanting to go but others not, fearing they could not.

Al Simon packed up his three kids and wanted to leave. As we were walking back to the dump truck for the final trip to Port Kaituma airstrip, Mr. Simon's wife began screaming.

"No, no, no," she screamed. Someone whispered to her: "Don't worry, we're going to take care of everything."

Rep. Ryan returned to the pavilion to see about the custody problem. We went to the truck. A few minutes later, as we waited, we heard a commotion. The newsmen ran to the pavilion but were stopped by security men.

Mr. Harris was allowed as our representative. He came back to say that someone had tried to kill Rep. Ryan.

Suddenly, the congressman emerged and walked toward the truck. His clothes were covered with blood. The other man had been cut by his own knife as Mr. Lane and others wrestled with him to save Rep. Ryan.

Rep. Ryan was alright. But the violence had started. It was about 3 p.m. Saturday. Within 3 1½ hours, three gunmen would attack us as we tried to board chartered aircraft and then, in a final act of desperation, Mr. Jones would order the mass suicide his people had rehearsed many times before.

Stephan Jones, 19, who was in Georgetown when the suicides took place, said yesterday that his father had gone crazy and that Jonestown had reflected his paranoia. But Mr. Jones said his father's dream of a socialist unity was still valid, that it had proved that socialism could work.

Asked if Jonestown had not been an experiment in fascism — with its armed guards and other means of preventing people from leaving — rather than an experiment in socialism, Mr. Jones replied: "My father was the fascist. Jonestown was, and still could be, beautiful."

Alleged Leader In Abduction of Empain Caught

PARIS, Nov. 22 (AP) — Francois Caillol, alleged ringleader of the gang that kidnapped Baron Edouard-Jean Empain and held him hooded and chained for nine weeks, was arrested here last night.

The police said Caillol, 37, was picked up as he arrived at an apartment where another alleged leading member of the gang, George Bertoncini, was captured earlier yesterday.

Bertoncini had been arrested in Lisbon June 10 but later escaped. Caillol's brother, Alain, was arrested in a shoot-out with the police March 24 when they closed in as the ransom of 40 million francs (about $8 million) for the baron was supposedly being handed over.

Alain agreed after police interrogation to telephone the gang telling them to release Baron Empain.

Soldiers Fire On Protesters in Tehran Bazaar

TEHRAN, Nov. 22 (UPI) — Iran moved tanks into the streets of the capital for the first time in 11 days today after a demonstration in the bazaar during which troops opened fire.

One of the approximately 200 demonstrators in the bazaar was reported shot in the leg. Witnesses said the demonstrators were shouting slogans against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and the premier, Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari, and in favor of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the exiled Iranian religious leader who has been demanding the shah's abdication.

In Parliament, Gen. Azhari won a 191-to-27 vote of confidence for his 16-day-old regime. There were six abstentions. In a speech, Gen. Azhari said some elements had infiltrated peaceful demonstrations with the aim of overthrowing the government and "even destroying the nation."

There were also reports today of clashes between demonstrators and troops in the northeast holy city of Mashhad and at Shiraz in the south.

Locust Swarms Termed Plague In Asia, Africa

ROME, Nov. 22 (UPI) — Locust infestations in the desert regions of Africa and southwest Asia have reached plague proportions and will resist all possible eradication

U.K. Gets Bids For Oil Drilling

Tunisia Seizes Two Sicilian Fishing Boats

MAZARA DEL VALLO, Sicily, Nov. 22 (AP) — Tunisian gunboats intercepted two Sicilian fishing boats and forced them into a Tunisian port, the captain of another fishing boat said today.

The captain told port authorities that he saw the Tunisian boats intercept the Michele Asaro, based here, with a crew of nine, and the Platone, with 11 men aboard, 40 miles south of Lampedusa Island.

Tunisian maritime authorities said the boats were intercepted off the Tunisian coast and their captains charged with violating Tunisia's territorial waters.

Last week Tunisian authorities released five fishing boats and their

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Metropolitan area: Mostl today; clear tonight. Sunr Temperature tonight: 1 yesterday 33-44. Details i

VOL. CXXVIII.... No. 44,052 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1978 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City. Higher in air-delivery cities

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The New York Times/Neal Boenzi

Survivors of the tragedy at Jonestown boarding flight to the United States yesterday in Georgetown, Guyana

Carter Cuts Back Exports of Arms To Countries Not Allied With U.S.

Places a Ceiling of $8.43 Billion on Current Total—Reduction Is the Second in Two Years

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 — President Carter announced today that he had placed a ceiling of $8.43 billion on the total value of American arms that could be sold in the 1979 fiscal year to nations not allied with the United States. That figure represents a modest reduction from the previous total.

The ceiling, which does not apply to American arms exports to allied countries in Western Europe or to Japan, Australia and New Zealand, represents the second successive cut in two years ordered by the President. Both times he said the cut amounted to 8 percent.

Mr. Carter said the reduction in the ceiling for the 1979 fiscal year, which began Oct. 1, would be $733 million. But he arrived at that figure by using a bookkeeping method that took into account the impact of inflation. A simple comparison of fiscal 1978 and fiscal 1979 totals shows a decrease of only $117 million.

$5 Billion in Arms to Allies

With total arms sales to allies running about $5 billion, the total for both allies and others in the 1978 fiscal year, which ended last Sept. 30, was $13.2 billion. There is no ceiling on arms exports to NATO countries, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Administration officials said that estimate. Under law, however, the Administration must send plans for specific arms sales to Congress, which has 30 days in which it can disapprove them.

In a statement released by the White House today, Mr. Carter said he was "pleased to announce that this Government has kept its pledge to take the leadership in restraining arms sales."

At the same time he indicated that the Administration could not continue its policy of restraint indefinitely without other arms exporters following suit. Accordingly, he said the Administration was now making a "maximum effort" to achieve the cooperation of other major arms suppliers.

"My decision on American arms transfer levels for fiscal year 1980," he said, "will depend on the degree of cooperation we receive in the coming year from other nations, particularly in the area of specific achievements and evidence of concrete progress on arms transfer restraint."

Foreign Competitors Unconvinced

So far, the Administration has not succeeded in getting its major competitors in the arms trade, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, to join it in cutting back on sales. Early last year, Paris and London informed Washington that they would not

TRADE DEFICIT I AS U.S. IMPORTS DOLLAR, STOCI

ADMINISTRATION SEE

Officials Voice Optimism as Economic Index Ind a Continuance of Gr

By RICHARD HALLOR

Special to The New York Time

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29 — T trade deficit grew again in t American exports declined sl edged up to record levels, the t Department reported today.

The continuing deficit, whic billion last month, is widely thi be a prime cause of the weaki dollar on international curre kets.

The overall deficit for the ye was $24.8 billion, which was 14 higher than the total for the y last year. It appeared certain total for the year would surp record $26.5 billion.

Dollar and Stocks Drop

Despite the widening of the October, spokesmen for the Ad tion expressed optimism over

Elderly Survivors of Cult re Returned From Guyana

SMITH ADMITS GUILT IN LAW FIRM FRAUD

:112604-11/29/78-GEORGETOWN, Guyana:U.S.Vice Consul Richard Martin pushes [illegible] ...ugh in a wheelchair through the airport garden to her plane 11/[illegible] ...ne survivors of the Jonestown mass suicide-killing left for the U.S. [illegible] ... o is 76 and ailing, told newsmen she slept through the orgy of death. [illegible]